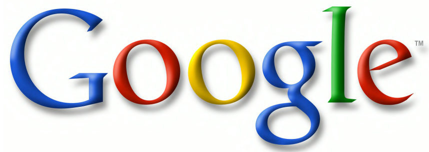

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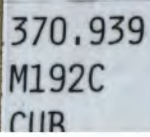
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Christian Education in the Dark Ages

BY THE

REV. EUGENE MAGEVNEY, S. J.

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Introduction.

IN presenting this, the first issue of the series, which we trust will contain many numbers, we wish to point out that the apparently wilful misrepresentation of the part enacted by the Catholic Church and Catholic Educators in the development of education in the pretentious histories of Pedagogy, which have so long been before the reading public, have made it necessary for steps to be taken ts make the truth known to American readers. The most crass ignorance prevails with regard to education in the dark ages. This reprint of an able and attractive article, will, we trust, be found timely. We respectfully solicit the co-operation of all fair-minded people in our endeavor to present the other side of the question that has suffered so much heretofore by misiepresentation or suppression. "Audiatur et altera pars."

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THE fifth century closed in darkness, and as we look at the situation of affairs which immediately followed, not with the jaundiced eye of a prejudiced critic, but with the candid fairmindedness of one in search of the truth, the wonder is, not that the times were dark but that there was any light at all.

Historians of the school of Hallam, and especially Robertson, whom the Protestant Maitland characterizes as "a very miserable second-hand writer," find it to their interest somehow to besmirch the memory of the monks of old, while they heap mountains of calumny and gross misrepresentations upon a system of religious institutions of whose supernatural nature and purport they understood absolutely nothing. Their broad and unsubstantiated assertions, sad to say, are allowed by many to pass unchallenged. While the continent of Europe was swarming with barbarians and weltering in blood; while its towns and cities with their amassed treasures were given over to pillage and fire; when all seemed lost, the monasteries became the sole reposi-

tories of learning, and continued so for many a long, long day. This is the incontestable fact as it confronts us upon the page of history, and the most ingenious combinations of talent and bigotry have never been able to disprove it.

We have seen how from the very outset monasteries became educational centres. We may form some idea of the intellectual atmosphere which they developed if we bear in mind that, with few exceptions, the early fathers and doctors of the Church had been monks or were educated in monasteries—Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory, Nazianzen, Jerome, Augustine, Fulgentius, Sulpicius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, Cassian, Salvian, and much later, Gregory the Great —not to speak of others, the bare mention of whose names is guarantee sufficiant of the educational value of the ancient monastic training. It was the profound learning of these mighty ones of the elder time, as embalmed in their imperishable works, which for centuries presided over the development of Christian doctrine and formed the groundwork of Scholasticism in a subsequent age. The immortal "Summa" of the Angelical Doctor did but codify and systematize truths upon which these primitive writers,

pupils of the monasteries, had rung the magnificent changes ages before. At the end of the fifth century the West, like the East, had become fruitful in these nurseries of learning, and when the municipal schools disappeared with the fall of the Empire, children were driven to have recourse to them for whatever learning was saved from the universal wreck.

There was one flaw, however, in the monastic system as it then existed, and that was the lack of proper organization, in default of which satisfactory and permanent educational results were less readily attainable. The evil was remedied by the great patriarch of the West, St. Benedict, who, A. D. 529, at Monte Cassino laid the foundations of an order destined to absorb or supplant all previous monastic institutions in the West and keep alive in its cloisters the torch of learning amid the worse than Cimmerian darkness deepening around. That it filled a pressing need is obvious from the rapidity with which it spread. Before the end of the century in which it was born Benedictines were in every country laboring and praying and teaching, and by the disinterested holiness of their lives pointing the way to an elevation of character and a need of civilization of

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tle of Germany, became a monk when only five years old.[2] Venerable Bede, as he tells us himself, entered the monastery of Wearmouth at seven; while St. Bruno, as late as the tenth century, was committed to the monks at Utrecht at the advanced age of four years. About the age of seven, children began the work of education proper by learning the Psalter. It was of obligation for all monks and ecclesiastics to know it, and accordingly it was the first thing taken up. When they had mastered it they entered upon their course of profane study, which consisted, presupposing the acquisition of reading and writing, of the three fundamentals; grammar, rhetoric and logic, which constituted what was called the *Trivium;* and the four mathematical and more advanced sciences of arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy, which were known as the *Quadrivium*. The two together embraced what was called "The Seven Liberal Arts." By "grammar" was understood something more than etymology, syntax and prosody. It included rhetoric and, in a measure, the study of literature. "Rhetoric" in turn was rather declamation and public speaking. By "music" was understood the science as

2 See Appendix p. 56, note 2.

far as acquaintance with it then extended, which, we may suppose, was considerable in some cases when we bear in mind that Gregorian chant takes its name from a monk in the sixth century, Pope Gregory the Great, whose famous school of chant was for a long time prominent and became the model of many others subsequently founded in Germany and France by Saint Boniface and Charlemagne.[3] The language spoken in the class-room was Latin, and children were required to master it even before the vernacular. The literature studied was mainly Roman. In fact, the whole monastic educational system bore a striking resemblance to that of the ancient municipal schools of the Empire, already described. "The curriculum," says Cardinal Newman, "derived from the earlier ages of heathen philosophy, was transferred to the use of the Church on the authority of Saint Augustine, who in his *De Ordine* considers it to be the fitting and sufficient preparation for theological learning. It is hardly necessary to refer to the history of its formation; we are told how Pythagoras prescribed the study of arithmetic, music and geometry; how Plato and Aristotle in-

3 See Appendix p. 57, note 3.

sisted on grammar and music, which, with gymnastics, were the substance of Greek education; how Seneca speaks, though not as approving, of grammar, music, geometry and astronomy as the matter of education in his own day; and how Philo, in addition to these, has named logic and rhetoric. Saint Augustine in his enumeration of them begins with arithmetic and grammar; including under the latter, history; then he speaks of logic and rhetoric; then of music, under which comes poetry as equally addressing the ear; lastly of geometry and astronomy, as addressing the eye. The Alexandrians, whom he followed, arranged them differently, viz., grammar, rhetoric and logic or philosophy, which branched off into the four mathematical sciences of arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy.

Greek was studied very little and on acquaintance with its literature was individual and exceptional. Hence it does not figure extensively in the class-room until quite late. It was indeed a rare accomplishment, and with the vast majority served no higher purpose than an elegant affectation. Bede, Alcuin, Paschasius and others, we are told, were familiar with it, and it is no more than likely that they

taught it to some of their pupils, without, however, giving it in the school-room the prominence enjoyed by Latin. In a few of the monasteries, notably that of St. Gall, it was studied and taught, and from a very early date. With time it came into more general use and played a more conspicuous part in later monastic curricula. This impulse given to its pursuit was due to Charlemagne, who set the seal of his royal approbation, so to speak, upon it and made its cultivation the fashion by having it taught in the college of Osnaberg, established by him, and which attained some renown, but whose history is lost in the darkness and confusion which enveloped the period. It is noteworthy that some of the most proficient Greek scholars of the mediæval times were women. In fact, having the same and in many cases better facilities for mental improvement than the men, and having more time on their hands and nothing but serious books within reach, it is not surprising that the ladies of those days, whether nuns in convents or dames at court, did much to foster the thorough cultivation of the classics—Hebrew, Latin and Greek. Very many or them wrote Latin, and a few, Greek verse with finish and ease. Saint Radegundes, a nun of

the sixth century, found leisure for the study of the Latin and Greek patristic commentaries. Among the friends of Saint Boniface was a community of English nuns remarkable for their classical attainments, many of whom at his request followed him to Germany and there opened schools for girls. Foremost among them was Saint Lioba, who, it is narrated, was thoroughly versed in the Scriptures, the writings of the Greek and Latin fathers, and the canons of the Church. The nuns in the convent of the famous but unfortunate Heloise studied Greek as well as Latin, Hebrew and Arabic; while of another we are told that she familiarized herself not only with the Greek and Latin classics, but also with the philosophical works of Aristotle.

Physical science, as might be expected, was far less developed in the monastic schools than the study of language. Many of the monks lectured and wrote upon such subjects, some of them voluminously, but their views in most cases, if not groundless surmises, were at least broader than their premises, and in the light of subsequent investigation and discovery have proven the merest puerilities. But for all that it is to their credit that despite the odds against them they fos-

tered a spirit of scientific inquiry at all and while, on the other hand, it does not add much to our stock of information to be told, for instance, as Rabanus Maurus, one of the mediæval lights, tells us, that the mouse and house-fly came originally from Greece, and that birds are divided into big birds and little birds, in which latter class he puts the wasp and the locust, yet, on the other, it is a subject of wonder to see what acquaintance Bede, and centuries later Albertus Magnus, had with matters whose discovery we are accustomed to look upon as a comparatively recent date. We can afford to marvel when the great naturalist Von Humboldt could not refrain from expressing his surprise. "Albertus Magnus," he says, "was equally active and influential in promoting the study of natural science and of the Aristotelian philosophy. . . . . . . His works contain some exceedingly acute remarks on the organic structure and physiology of plants. One of his works, bearing the title of 'Liber Cosmographicus de Natura Locorum,' is a species of physical geography. I have found in it considerations on the dependence of temperature concurrently on latitude and elevation, and on the effect of different angles of incidence of the sun's rays in

heating the ground, which had excited my surprise." *

As text-books were rare, a great deal of dictation was necessary. The weariness which it begot soon led to the invention of shorthand methods of reporting discourse. Some monasteries became famous for their shorthand classes, and their professors celebrated not only for their own but for their scholars' proficiency. Of the text-books in use, the most renowned were the "Grammatical Institutions" of Priscian, in eighteen books, of which, so the story goes, Theodosius the younger was so enamored that he copied them with his own hand; the "Distichia Moralia," a popular class-book whose composition was attributed to Cato, but is more commonly believed to have been the work of a monk in the second century; ** the grammar of Donatus, the teacher of Saint Jerome. which continued a favorite throughout the middle ages; various books of Boëtius, a writer of the fifth century and one of the last and brightest scholars of the decline. He wrote original Latin productions for class

* *Cosmos*, vol. ii., p. 243 *in fine*. Translation by E. C. Otte.

** On this work, *cf.* *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, Healy, p. 117.

use, and it was to his translations from the Greek that the mediæval students owed much of their acquaintance, which was none too extensive, with the writers of Hellas. To these let us add "On the teaching of Sacred Letters" and "The Seven Liberal Arts," written by Cassiodorus for the school which he founded at Viviers, and which were also works in long and favored repute. The best known and no doubt the most generally used was the "Satyricon" of Martianus Capella, written about the year 460. It was an encyclopædia in nine books, covering in its treatment the matter embraced in the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*. It contained whatever knowledge was then extant upon the so-called "Seven Liberal Arts," and such was its widespread popularity that it continued in favor as the text-book by excellence for upwards of a thousand years and was translated into various languages and adopted everywhere. Possibly the one who did most in the composition of text-books, and that at a time which Mr. Hallam stigmatizes as a nadir of European civilization, was Saint Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, and one of the founders of the celebrated seminary to which allusions has already been made in a previous paper. He died

in the year 630. Isidore was certainly a learned man, and was looked upon as an intellectual prodigy by his contemporaries. The work which won him his great reputation is entitled "Origines; sen Etymologiarum Libri." It is in twenty books, and not only embraces the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*, but also the subjects God, man, the world, Scripture, medicine, law, language, geography, agriculture, zoology, and a number of other miscellaneous topics. Of these productions, and similar ones of lesser note, Hallam remarks that their very meagreness is proof sufficient of an almost total literary decay. True. No one attempts to deny their superficiality of treatment. On the other hand, they are not to be tried by the canons of nineteenth century criticism, which it would be well for Hallam, Milman, Robertson, Brucker, and our own Mr. Emerton always to bear in mind.

The cloistral and cathedral schools, in default of many of our modern improvements, were conducted under difficulties not hard to conceive. The monastic schools for externs was in a building apart from the cloister. There was a head master and an assistant. In the larger monastic institutions the corps of

professors, as we would now phrase it, was quite numerous. The system was paternal, though the rod figured conspicuously in the moral training of the mediæval "small boy," but hardly to the absurd extent asserted by Laurie, who says that "in many monasteries all the boys were periodically flogged as a kind of general atonement for sins past and possible;" this, too, on the ridiculous assumption that the devil was in the heart of every boy, and could only be gotten out by trouncing. The students, especially the younger ones, were carefully looked after by the monks appointed to act as prefects, and whose duty it was to remain with their charges night and day—exercising the closest supervision over their conduct. Education was absolutely free, and in many instances, as at Yarrow in the time of Venerable Bede, indigent pupils were even provided with food and clothing at the expense of the cloister. The boys continued at school until fourteen years of age, when they departed to enter their respective fields of labor. If they desired to be monks, they remained in the monastery undergoing the discipline suited to that kind of life. Facilities for the pursuits of higher studies were not to be had until the time of Charlemagne, A. D. 768,

who, in imitation of the imperial system of old Rome, whose educational as well as governmental polity he sought in many respects to reproduce, founded advanced schools in various parts of his extensive domain. The most celebrated were at Paris, Tours, Pavia, Rheims, Lyons, Fulda and Bologna. Some see in them the germs of the mediæval universities, whose origin scholars find it difficult to trace with accuracy. Such were the teachers, such was the learning afforded by the early mediæval monastic schools. It may be taken as a fair estimate of the educational advantages offered by the monasteries in general. We say "in general" for some were, of course, more advanced than others. But our concern is not with the exception, but with the rule. That education under these circumstances, and in spite of the obstacles in the way of its development, did not remain at a standstill, is sufficiently manifest by the progress made in certain monasteries when the circumstances of the times, especially the royal patronage and the discontinuance of wars, were conducive to its rapid and healthy growth. Indeed it is impossible not to observe, though the transition be at times ever so gradual and well nigh invisible, as we tread our way

through the twilight from the sixth to the twelfth century, a progressive movement towards the broader educational condition of things in which it finally culminated. Where the monks of the fifth and sixth centuries were occupied with saving the remnants of ancient literature, purging and adapting authors for class purposes, and imparting the merest elements to the as yet untutored barbarian, their successors in the eighth and ninth aud eleventh had strung their instruments for songs in a higher key. The monk Gerbert, raised subsequently to the Papal chair under the title of Sylvester II., was holding forth upon the *Categories* and *Topics* of Aristotle. The professors in certain German monasteries were delivering lectures in Greek, Hebrew and Arabic. At Dijon the monks of St. Benignus were discoursing on medicine, while the enterprising inmates of Saint Gall were teaching painting, engraving, and, in the opinion of some, sculpture.[4] This development would have been more systematic and pranounced from the start if the zeal of the monks, unhampered by endless political and social unrest, had been the only factor in the calcula-

4 See Appendix, p. 57, note 4.

tion. It was not, however, and these pious men who found so much time for the conduct of schools still felt that the bulk of their energies had to be devoted to the spiritual rather than the intellectual benefit of their neighbors. How well they succeeded in their missionary undertakings is shown by the fact that within the compass of six centuries they had reclaimed from Arianism the Goths and vandals, and "instructed in the Gospel the idolatrous nations of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Bulgaria, Hungary, Saxony, Poland and Russia."

Such was the monk at home: such his work. But if we would gauge him aright and allot him his due meed of praise we must follow him abroad and study his endeavors for the widespread diffusion of knowledge. The fifth century, as we have said, closed in darkness. The schools of the Empire and the earliest attempts at Christian education were at first brought to naught by the deluge of barbarism which swept over the continent of Europe, though destined, after years of almost utter obliteration, to revive and become the foundation of modern civilization, reform and culture. In the meanwhile, that is in the sixth and seventh centuries, by a providential arrangement, peace reigned

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hundred years, students, regardless of the difficulties of the journey, flocked in thousands and from all quarters, even from Greece and Egypt. Of the great men who studied within their enclosure, and who afterwards became the pioneers of the revived learning and civilization throughout the western world, it will suffice to mention Saint Colomba, the Apostle of Caledonia; Saint Columbanus, who evangelized France, Burgundy, Switzerland and Lombardy; Saint Columbkille; Saint Boniface, the Apostle of Germany; Saint Gall, the Apostle of Switzerland; Saint Fridolin; Saint Sigisbert; Saint Killian; Saint Virgilius; Saint Cataldus; Saint Kentigern; Saint Willibrod; Saint Donatus; Saint Frigdian; Venerable Bede; Aldhelm; Alcuin, and an army of others. Under their influence the barbarian, grown weary of strife and realizing the desolatiou which he had wrought, was gradually moulded to better things. He became as eager to learn as they were to teach, and their work went on prosperously if slowly. "As the Irish missionaries," to quote Newman again, "travelled down through England, France and Switzerland to lower Italy and attempted Germany at the peril of their lives, founding churches, schools and monasteries as

they went along, so, amid the deep pagan woods of Germany and round about, the English Benedictine plied his axe and drove his plough, planted his rude dwelling and raised his rustic altar upon the ruins of idolatry, and then, settling down as a colonist upon the soil, began to sing his chants and to copy his old volumes, and thus to lay the slow but sure fouudation of the new civilization."*

The first of the three most notable movements in the direction of educational progress occurred during the reign of Charles the Great, which extended from A.D. 768 to A.D. 814. This illustrious man—"the King of Europe" and "the Orthodox Emperor," as he was fondly styled on account of the vast extent of territory over which he ruled and his nobie defense of religion, though himself a stranger to literary cultivation could nevertheless appreciate the accomplishment in others. A journey through Italy about the year 780 brought him in contact with certain scholars of whose learning was in admiration. The event determined him to do all in his power to raise the intellectual standard of his subjects by putting within their reach every facil-

* *Loc. cit.*

ity for educational improvement. It was the dream of Charlemagne's lifetime to lay the foundation of an empire destined to rival in splendor the glories of ancient Rome, and he felt that this was impossible without the revival of letters on a scale approaching, if not surpassing, the traditional renown of the Augustan Age. He had heard of the system of higher and secondary education as it had prevailed in the universities of old at Rome, Athens, Constantinople, Alexandria and elsewhere. He had seen it in active though imperfect operation in the Benedictine monasteries, in which a partial line of demarcation between the higher and lower studies was drawn. Accordingly, his first care was to send earnest instructions to the bishops and abbots and priests, urging them to enter heartily into his scheme of educational reform by exerting themselves vigorously for the benefit of their cathedral and monastic as also of their parochial schools. All this in order to qualify youth to enter into the Palatine or Palace School established at the Court, or similar institutions soon to be modeled upon it in other parts of the kingdom. The text of this capitular or encyclical letter, "the first general charter of education for the middle ages," is

marked evidence of the ec
of the times. "We exh
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was Alcuin, an English
monastery of York. He e
spread fame as a teacher
and so impressed Charles,
at Parma on the occasion
ready alluded to, that he p

to become the corner-stone of the new order of things about to be inaugurated.[7] The learning which Alcuin brought with him was signalized and recommended by the tradition which had come down to him through a series of distinguished saints and scholars direct from the See of Peter.[8] He continued with very little interruption for fourteen years, from A.D. 782 to A.D. 796, co-operating with his royal master for the furtherance of his educational plans. He then severed his connection with the Palace school, retired from court, and sought a quiet retreat in the monastery of Saint Martin, at Tours, the incursions of the Norsemen, which had begun in the meantime, rendering it impossible for him to return to his much-loved island home.

Among the distinguished successors to Alcuin in the Palace School should be mentioned Rabanus Maurus, also Dungal and Clement, two Irish scholars of rare ability, whose proffered services in the cause of education Charlemagne readily accepted and rewarded. At a later date, during the reign of Charles the Bald, and after the school had been transferred

7 See Appendix p. 58, note 7.

8 See Appendix p. 58, note 8.

from Aix-la-Chapelle to Paris, we find at the head of it the famous Scotus Erigena, with whom theologians are sufficiently familiar. Scotus was an eminent Oriental linguist, had studied in Ireland and travelled much in the East, where no doubt the metaphysical speculations for which he had become so celebrated had become tinged with the Platonism of the Alexandrian Schools. His heretical views touching the Eucharist and free will soon led to no end of conflict and controversy, until his public condemnation by the Church became an imperative necessity. The Palace School and such as were more or less fashioned upon it were intended to furnish every facility for the prosecution of higher studies, and therefore designed to complete the work begun in the primary or parochial schools, and carried on through the minor cathedral and monastery schools. A youth, graduating from one of these latter, passed to one or other of the former or major schools which, by royal decree issued A.D. 789, had been erected in connection with certain of the larger monasteries, as, for instance, with those of Saint Gall, Fulda, Fleury, Fontanelles, and at least a dozen more referred to by Mabillon. In the primary or village

parochial school reading, writing, arithmetic and singing were all that was taught. In the minor schools the work previously begun was continued and augmented by the addition of the *Trivium*. In the major schools the *Quadrivium* was added, and such special languages and sciences as individual institutions were able to supply, which, in some cases were considerable. Over the primary or parochial school the parish priest presided. Over the monastery school, minor and major, whether conducted for interns or externs, the abbot. Over the cathedral school, the bishop, directly, or indirectly by means of the *Scholasticus*, or head master appointed by him. Instruction was gratuitous. The schools were strictly public; equally open to rich and poor. The whole system was capped by the Palace School. From it all others naturally took their cue, as it was generally, though not always, controlled by the best teachers, and consequently was easily able to set the fashion and give the tone to the rest of the country in matters literary and scientific. It is worthy of observation that the Palace School was for girls as well as boys ; women as well as men. It was to one of the female pupils that Alcuin dedicated his commenta-

ries upon the Gospel of Saint John and his treatise on the nature of the human soul. It goes without saying that throughout the moral training of the pupils was most sedulously looked to. Catechism, Scripture, ecclesiastical chant and the Church's calendar and ceremonies were carefully taught. It certainly must have been a great stimulus to the diligence of scholars everywhere to note the zest with which the Emperor "went to school," taking his place upon the forms in the class-room and asking and answering questions like the youngest pupil, whilst the eloquence of Alcuin opened up to his untutored mind the profundities of grammar and arithmetic or of astronomy, of which he seems to have been particularly fond. We may thus conceive of the Palace School as a sort of university centre, though in no sense a university; nor, in the opinion of Cardinal Newman, even the nucleus of the subsequent mediæval universities, as Du Boulay, in his eagerness to trace the origin of that of Paris to Charlemagne, so stoutly contends. Some idea of the broad gauge upon which the Emperor proposed to operate his plan of educational reform may be gathered from the fact that even the Palace School was not intended ex-

clusively for members of the court, but admitted also those of humble origin whose exceptional talent gave promise of future ability.

When in this connection we speak of "higher studies," we use the term relatively, of course. There was, for instance, in astronomy as taught by Alcuin much that was never dreamt of in Herschel's philosophy or seen through the Lick telescope. But all the same, what there was of endeavor merits praise instead of ridicule, as it pointed distinctly to a forward and not to a retrogressive movement. It may be said that the great Emperor brought the full force not only of his example but also of his authority to bear upon the promotion of education throughout his dominions. As he had commanded, and that in various capitulars, all bishops, abbots and priests to second his efforts to provide the necessary learning for his subjects, so in like manner he commanded the subjects in their turn to profit to the full by the opportunities afforded. Every inducement in the shape of rewards and preferments was offered, and when these failed compulsion was had recourse to. In a capitular issued A. D. 812 he ordained that "every one should send his son to study letters,

and that the child should remain at school and study with all diligence until he should be well instructed in learning." The result of so much activity on the part of Charlemagne and such prompt co-operation on the part of the monks was a general revival of learning within his dominions. Their influence was still more widespread. Wherever the fame of his literary achievements extended; wherever the pupils of the Frankish schools travelled, there the spirit of inquiry was awakened and an eager desire to imitate, if not to emulate them, was enkindled. That his scheme of reform, left to itself, would have produced permanent and happy results there is no questioning. His immediate successors. Louis le Debonnaire and Charles the Bald, did their utmost to bring it to maturity. But political dissensions, whose origin and course it were beyond our present purpose to trace, begot civil discord, and in the social upheavals of protracted war the educational work of Charlemagne was undone. The growth of feudalism and the dismemberment of the Carlovingian Empire, which was in progress for a century and a half—that is to say from the middle of the ninth to the end of the tenth century—played havoc with the

schools. Yet it were false to say that the interest and industry put out by so many minds and through so long a time upon the advancement of learning were productive of no results. There is no conservation of moral as of physical energy in the world, and the prolific idea, once set in motion, never dies until it has brought forth to fullness, somewhere and somehow, the fruitage of which its pent-up vitality gave hopeful assurance. The efforts of Charlemagne, if not altogether successful, were certainly not entirely abortive. The cathedral and conventual schools had been actively revived.[9] A new impulse had been given to the study of the German language.* Pupils graduated from his schools had scattered themselves over Europe, disseminating elsewhere the seed which could no longer grow in soil now become uncongenial. While the entire life of the great man, in so far as he is connected with the history of education, has built up a tradition whose splendor still hangs, like a sunset glory upon the distant and darkening horizon of those far-off times, and still works like a charm upon the minds of

9 See Appendix p. 58, note 9.

*Cf. *Saint Boniface and the Conversion of Germany*, Hope, c. 25.

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a manner annihilated.* Like Charlemagne, Alfred felt that his mission was to be one of reconstruction. Accordingly he set to work to rebuild monasteries, to gather together teachers, open schools, and urge his subjects, by example no less than by precept, to do all in their power for the furtherance of knowledge. Returning from Rome, a visit to the court of Charles the Bald had thrown him in contact with scholarly men and introduced him to the workings of the Palace School, which he made it his purpose to reproduce in his own dominions as soon as a lull in the storm of battle would permit.

During the fifteen years of peace which the country enjoyed immediately after the decisive encounter of Ethandune (A.D. 863), Alfred set vigorously to work. He gave himself to diligent study, securing as teacher and head of the Palace School, Asser, a monk of St. David's, or Menevia, in Wales, who subsequently became his biographer. Asser enjoyed a widespread reputation for learning and ability. It was only, however, after considerable delay and difficulty that the King prevailed

* *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, c. 11 *The Life of King Alfred the Great*, Knight; *Annales Rerum Gestarum Aelfredi Magni*, Asser.

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ially to philosophy, geometry, music and architecture. At the age of thirty-nine he took up Latin, which he mastered sufficiently to enable him to compose in it several works of no mean desert, as well as to translate others into the vernacular—amongst them being "Liber Pastorolis Curæ" by Gregory the Great; "De Consolatione Philosophiæ" by Boetius, and "Historia Ecclesiastica" by Venerable Bede, together with selections from the "Soliloquies of Saint Augustine." His proficiency in the Saxon tongue, in which he wrote numerous poems, was also remarkable. Add to which the practical turn of his genius, which enabled him to bring to bear upon the material and intellectual advancement of his kingdom whatever knowledge he acquired. "In a word," says Edmund Burke, summing up his excellent qualities, "he comprehended in the greatness of his mind the whole of government and its parts at once, and, what is most difficult to human frailty, was at the same time sublime and minute."* A character of such diversified worth was well suited to become the chief instrument of educational reform at an epoch and in conditions sufficiently

* *Abridgement of English History*, Book II.

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his education at the monastery of Corby in Westphalia and Grimbald. Both were monks and priests. The former he put in charge of the monastic establishment at Ethelingey. He is sometimes confounded by historians with John Scotus Erigena, already referred to, and who was not only not abbot of Ethelingey, but most probably, as Dr. Lingard maintains, was never in England at all.* Grimbald, if certain accounts be credited, was given the direction of the educational institution at Oxford, whose origin would thus be traceable to the ninth, if not to an earlier century, with the honor which it so much craves of having Alfred for its founder. The more likely opinion, however, based upon sounder historical criticism, seems to be that all trace of Grimbald is lost, and his connection with Oxford is nothing more than a fiction woven of the fancies of certain romantic writers.[11] But how bright soever the halo with which a grateful posterity crowns Alfred's work as an educational reformer, it was comparatively scanty, and in all likelihood would have perished with him had

**Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, c. 11, Note 37. *Historica Ecclesiastica*, Nat. Alexander, vol. xii., c. 9, Art. III.

11 See Appendix p. 59, note 11.

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emulators in Germany in the persons of the Othos, who ruled the country from A.D. 936 to A.D. 1024. Their efforts were as successful as, if not more so than, those in Britain, and form, together with the other two, the only points of relief in the dark ages we are traversing. The pursuit of letters had been steadily on the decline for five hundred years, and, Hallam to the contrary notwithstanding, the general verdict of the historians is that it reached its lowest ebb towards the close of the tenth century, which has been not inappropriately styled an age of iron—"*sæculum infelix et obscurum.*"[12] The reason for this lamentable and unparalleled decadence was the destruction of churches and monasteries at the hands of barbaric Normans, Danes and Saracens whose depredations at this period vividly recalled the invasions of Goth and Visigoth in the fifth and sixth centuries as they swept over the face of Europe, leaving nothing but ruin and desolation in their track. Yet, dark and dismal as the period really was, if we scrutinize the situation closely we will not fail to see that it was not absolutely unproductive

* *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Litteraria* Cave, p. 402.

12 See Appendix p. 59, note 12.

of schools and scholars. Both were to be met with at Utrecht, Einsiedeln, Treves, Hildesheim and in other cities. The same spirit of interest in studies which we have seen at the court of Charlemagne was visible in the populous centres of Germany, and especially within the royal household, where a well-conducted palace school was flourishing. It was fashioned upon the same lines as those presided over by Alcuin and Asser, and aimed at systematizing whatever educational endeavors were possible in an age so unfamiliar with the arts of peace and the institutions of civilized life.[13] Saint Bruno, raised by popular acclaim to the archbishopric of Cologne, and Saint Adelbert to that of Magdeburg, stood out in bold relief as particularly zealous for the educational improvement of their country. Assisted by the unstinted patronage of the Othos and the generous co-operation of a people anxious to learn, the seed of their endeavors fell upon responsive soil and realized a creditable harvest. Injunctions were issued to the bishops ordering them to provide their dioceses with suitable schools. Scholars were brought, especially from Rome, to serve

13 See Appendix p. 60, note 13.

as teachers, and thither students were sent to acquire whatever learning was to be obtained at the heart of Christendom, with the result that not a few, despite the difficulties of the situation, won a fair celebrity by their intellectual attainments. It were needless to recite a mere catalogue of names. Suffice it to say that the two most celebrated scholars who flourished during this epoch were doubtles Scotus Erigena and the monk Gerbert—solitary lights, so to speak, in a firmament grown almost pitchy dark.[14]

But the darkest hour, so the saw has it, is the one before dawn. Whether it be so or not ordinarily, in the present case it certainly was. The elements of a change had been long at work. The change itself was now imminent. Social, political and religious influence long smouldering were about to declare themselves. Their manifestation was to transform Europe, breathe life into the dry bones of the past, and give birth to a civilization whose Shibboleth was to be educational reform. It is no easy matter, even for the philosopher of history, to trace to its certain causes the general revival which unmistakably sets in with

14 See Appendix p. 60, note 14.

the eleventh century. The spirit of chivalry, the Crusades, the birth of commerce, the formation of European languages, the multiplication of religious orders, the secularization and specialization of learning, and the introduction into Europe from the East of a system of philosophy peculiarly adapted to stimulate mental exertion, are all advanced as having more or less influenced the turn in the tide so noticeable at this time. To speak of the principal. Chivalry, at once the effect and concomitant of feudalism, with its exalted regard for personal honor and womanly dignity, certainly did much to steady the jarring elements of the barbaric ages in which it flourished and lift men's thoughts and aspirations from the rude to the refined, from the actual to the possible, from the real to the ideal. The tales of scald and bard; the songs of troubadour and minnesinger, woven upon the romance of love and rehearsed far and near in wooded bower or castle hall, were indeed a summons to something higher. They were an incentive to a social condition in which delicate fancy and noble sentiment, touchstones of mental refinement, were allowed full scope and activity. Allied to religion, the chivalric spirit did more. It purified and

elevated while it supernaturalized the lives and hopes of men, affording them through the darkness from which they were emerging clearer glimpses of another order of life, moral in character, and founded upon the immutable principles of Christian beauty and truth. It was the dawn of a new civilization, broader and nobler than aught they had ever known, and the national as the individual heart throbbed in responsive unison with its invitation to higher and better things.

The Crusades, too, whatever objections may be alleged against them on other grounds, contributed largely to the revival of which we are speaking. Until the voice of Peter the Hermit sounded the call throughout Europe and rallied to a common cause so many nations differing in character and thoroughly antagonistic men's lives were comparatively insulated. There was little travel and almost no interchange of ideas. What knowledge there was stood, as it were, in stagnant pools awaiting some mystic touch to quicken it into marvelous life. For want of motion and friction it lacked the vigor which alone could insure its rapid and steady growth. Ireland, England and Germany had indeed made the world their debtors by sending their scholars hither

and thither; but the coming and going of a few only helped to emphasize the defect in the general situation. But with the uprising of multitudes the result was quite different. As army met army, as they moved in thousands from place to place, they awoke as from a dream, and what they heard and saw came to them with the force of a revelation. New ideas, new institutions, new scenes, new nations, new laws, new customs, new social and political systems, new libraries, new scholars, new educational facilities, the varied products of the arts and sciences and the fruits of every industry were all a most effectual stimulus. What they had seen and heard only made them the more eager upon returning home to see and hear more, while it formed the endless burden of romantic stories which excited others to set out in quest of similar information. The secularization of learning was also acting as a potent factor at this crisis. It is true, there had always existed what were known as "adventure" or private schools, whose professors eked out a livelihood shifting from place to place and teaching wherever the experiment seemed to pay. But they were conducted in a manner in harmony with the Christian ages in which they flourished. Now,

however, a change was coming over their condition. Their number was increasing. The store of learning which they carried was growing every day more considerable while a spirit of mental unrest was fast developing in their midst. Practically divorced from religion, they wanted the safeguards which the monasteries had once supplied. A dangerous spirit of ambitious rivalry soon took possession of them which, while it had the advantage of opening up wider fields of research, was in not a few instances fought with the still greater disadvantage of not knowing where to draw the line upon its investigations. In its wild chase after the elusive phantom of knowledge it often overlooked its higher obligations and contributed not a little to foster the sceptical spirit of the heresies which began to crop up at this time, and which, in their deification of reason, repudiated the supreme and inalienable claims of divine faith. But among the various forces at work we must not omit to mention the introduction into the West of the philosophy of the East with its disposition to inquiry and its endless metaphysical refinings. Europe was ripe for it.

Heretofore education had moved in a beaten track. It had been traditional

rather than discursive. It had contended itself with guarding and quoting the wisdom of antiquity without attempting to open up new vistas or cut new paths through the unexplored realms of the mind. Original research was almost unknown. Augustine and Gregory Thaumaturgus might be cited, but to venture a new treatise upon the nature and province of grace were a boldness akin to impiety. Such a state of affairs could not endure. Too many problems were pressing for solution and all that was needed to give it was a scientific method of investigation which, while it would throw the searchlight of the subtlest mental acumen into the darkest corners of the most abstruse subjects, could not fail to harmonize, in the rounded fullness of a universal accord, the natural with the supernatural, the human with the divine, the principles of revelation with the laws of perpetual progress. The birth of scholasticism, for such was the name which it assumed in Christian hands, marks a prominent point of departure in the intellectual history of Europe. The Aristotelian or Peripatetic philosophy had been imported from Greece and popularized by Arab commentators. Saracenic invasion introduced it into Europe by way of

Spain, and it was not long ere it was caught up and assimilated into the life of the leading educational institutions of the West. Cleared of its Pagan dross, it was easily moulded into an effective instrument in the hands of saints and scholars, and made to serve the higher and holier purpose of an aid to the fuller illustration, by rational methods, of the truths of the gospel. It took speedy possession of the existing schools; infused new vitality into the studies of the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, imparting to them a life and a relish they had never known before. The quiet atmosphere of the class-room became alive with the fire of disputation. The fervor spread from institution to institution. Students thronged from everywhere to the various schools, until their number became so great as to necessitate an increase of lectures and an organization sufficiently compact and effective to hold this eager and turbulent body in due control. The enthusiasm which had formerly marked the lectures of Gerbert and Scotus was now aroused by numerous professors who could drink of the same fountain of wisdom without crossing the threshold of their respective monasteries. Which of all these forces was the most operative it were impossible

to say. While Paulsen emphasizes the Crusades and Professor Laurie the secularization of education, Cardinal Newman insists upon the Greek philosophy as the most effective and significant force then at work.

The age of the universities had not yet come. Still who can fail to see in the features which distinguish this transitional epoch the drawings of that activity which in the twelfth century would be thrown into definite shape and in the fifteenth would strike the zenith of its development for the weal of some and the woe of others? Professors and departments in the various schools were multiplied. Studies were organized. Superior schools were started in great numbers as supplementary aids in the shadow of great educational centres. A system of interdependence, co-ordinate and subordinate, was forming amongst the various institutions. Learning, as well as the methods adopted for its inculcation, was assuming a universal character which was gradually lifting education from the contracted and hampering environments of the past to the world-wide field it was destined to range after a few years. Who was the master spirit of the hour can only be surmised. The names of Anselm, Lan-

franc, William de Champeaux, Abelard and others, pass in celebrated train before us in answer to the question. Laurie finds even in the rebellion of Berengarius and the rationalism of Scotus sufficient explanation of the great awakening as he conceives it. This much, however, we do know—that in the monastery of Le Bec, in Normandy, especially under the regencies of Lanfranc and Anselm, the new philosophy was chastened and wedded to theological truth in a way to establish its practical value when properly applied and thus was furnished with credentials which made it welcome wherever it went;* that it was in and about the School of Paris that the new life was manifesting itself most strikingly. Having passed through the various stages of a long development, that institution was now preparing more evidently and rapidly than ever, under the salutary influences of position and patronage, to assume at the end of the eleventh century the higher role of university, and thus merit for itself the distinction of having led off in the great transformation so near at hand. Incidentally, and while the scene is shifting, it is interesting to observe, as an unmistakable

* *The Life and Times of Saint Anselm.* Rule.

sign of her zeal for educational progress, how the Church, as she had done her utmost to save the relics of ancient learning in the dark days of barbaric invasion, in the present emergency contributes her vast and varied influence towards lifting it on the higher plane for which it was certainly making.[15] She favored rational investigation—the application of philosophy to dogma—provided it were distinguished throughout by a humility and faith which could recognize and respect the claims of revelation as against the assumption of a vain and unbridled reason. With her blessing and co-operation, with the favor of the State as well, with the combined energies of inspirited multitudes the forces now set in motion were not to be stopped, but moved on powerfully to their appointed ends—to their far-reaching and lasting results. The night had passed. The day was slowly breaking.

13 See Appendix p. 60, note 15.

Appendix.

Appendix.

1 "The custom," says Doctor Lingard, "of offering children to be devoted for life to the monastic or clerical profession, was early adopted in the Christian Church, in imitation of the oblation of the prophet Samuel in the temple of Jerusalem. The idea that the determination of his parents was no less binding on the child than the voluntary profession of adults was first embraced in the sixth century, and followed until the pontificate of Celestine III., who, according to the more ancient discipline, permitted the child at a certain age to decide for himself."—*Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church* p. 231, note 6.

"The fierce northern warriors," say Cardinal Newman, "who had won for themselves the lands of Christendom with their red hands, rejoiced to commit their innocent offspring to the custody of religion and peace. Nay, sometimes with the despotic will of which I have just now spoken, they dedicated them, from or before their birth, to the service of Heaven. They determined that some at least of their lawless race should be rescued from the contamination of blood and license, and should be set apart in sacred places to pray for the kindred. The little being, of three or four or five years old, were brought in the arms of those who gave them life to accept at their bidding the course in which that life was to run. They were brought into the sanctuary, spoke by the mouth of their parents, as at the font, put out their tiny hand for the sacred corporal to be wrapped round it, received the cowl and took their places as monks in the monastic community. In the first ages of the Benedictine Order, these children were placed on a level with their older brethren. They took precedence according to the date of their admission, and the grey head gave way to them in choir and refectory, if junior to them in monastic standing. They even voted in the election of Abbot, being considered to speak by divine instinct, as the child who cried out, 'Ambrose is Bishop.' If they showed waywardness in community meetings, inattention at choir, ill-behavior at table, which certainly was not an impossible occurrence, they were corrected by the nods, the words, or the blows of the grave brother who happened to be next them; it was not till an after time that they had a perfect of their own, except in school hours. That harm came from this remarkable disci-

pline is only the suggestion of our modern habits and ideas; that it was not expedient for all times, follows from the fact that at a certain date it ceased to be permitted. However, that in those centuries in which it was in force, its result was good is seen in the history of the heroic men whom it nurtured and might have been anticipated from the principle which it embodied." — *Historical Sketches*, vol. ii. art. "The Benedictine Schools."

2 Which rather conflicts with Mr. Emerton's amusing statement that Boniface, for a time carried on his missions in Germany on his own account, but finding that it would help his enterprise immensely, eventually allied himself with the Church of Rome. He says: "The famous Englishman Boniface, the Apostle to the Germans, had come over from England and entered upon the work of a missionary among the Frisians along the shores of the North Sea. From there he had gone over into the valleys of the Main and Danube, and had had remarkable success in founding churches and monasteries, which were to be so many centres of light in these still barbarous regions. For a time he had carried on this work on his own account, but soon he saw that if he could make himself the agent of Rome he would strengthen his cause very greatly. The papacy was the more ready to adopt him as its own, because there were already missionaries at work in these parts who had taught a form of Christianity different in many ways from that of Rome. These missionaries had come from the Keltic church which we saw established in the west of England and in parts of Scotland and Ireland at the time when Augustine had carried the Roman form to the Anglo-Saxons, and the conflict between them and Boniface was the same which went on there between Augustine and the ancient British church. The question in both cases was the same: Should Rome become the one centre of church life in the West, or should the life of the church, like that of the state, gather about several centres? Should there be national churches, or but one all-embracing Church, Catholic of which Rome should be the single and supreme head? In great parts of Germany, as in Great Britain, it had seemed as if a local, national church might grow up quite independent of Rome; but after the work of Boniface it

was clear that the hold of Rome upon Germany was fixed forever." – (*An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* (375-814), by Ephraim Emerton, Ph.D., Professor of History in Harvard University. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1888 p. 131.)

3 "After the manner of a wise Solomon," says an ancient writer speaking of Gregory, "being touched by the sweetness of music he carefully compiled his *Centon*, or Antiphonary of chants. and established a school of those chants which had hitherto been sung in the Roman Church, and built for this purpose two houses, one attached to the church of St. Peter the Apostle and the other near the Lateran Patriarchium. where, up to this day, are preserved with becoming veneration the couch whereon he was accustomed to rest when singing; and the rod wherewith he was accustomed to threaten the boys, together with the authentic copy of his Antiphonary." — *Christian Schools and Scholars*, Drane, p. 60.

4 "Rabanus Maurus was about the first to comment on the *Introdnction* of Porphyry, and on portions of the *Organon*. In the year 935, whilst Reinard of S. Burchard, in Wurtemburg, commented on Aristotle's *Categories*, Poppo was elucidating, at Fulda, the *Commentary* of Bœthius Notker Labeo, who died in 1022, translated into German the *Commentary* of Bœthius, and the *Categories* and *Interpretation* of the Stagyrite. Abbo of Fleury (1004) wrote a clever and original work on the *Conclusions* and Adelberon, Bishop of Laon (1030), disciple of Gerbert, wrote a dissertation *De Modo recte Argumentandi et Prædicandi Dialecticam*.—St. Thomas of Aquin, Vaughan p. 188.

5 "During the sixth and seventh centuries the church of Ireland stood in the full beauty of its bloom. . . . The schools in the Irish Cloisters were at that time the most celebrated in all the West; and in addition to those which have been already mentioned; there flourished the schools of Saint Finian of Clonard, founded in 530, and those of Saint Cataldus, founded in 640. Whilst almost the whole of Europe was desolated by war, peaceful Ireland, free from the invasions of external foes, opened to the lovers of learn-

ing and piety a welcome asylum. The strangers who visited Ireland not only from the neighboring shores of Britain, but also from the most remote nations of the continent, received from the Irish people the most hospitable reception, a gratuitous entertainment, free instruction, and even the books that were necessary for their studies."—*History of the Church.* Döllinger vol. II., p. 31.

6 *The Schools of Charles the Great,* J. Bass Mullinger, M.A., pp. 97–99; *Schools of Charlemagne,* Newman, *Edinburgh Review,* vol, 151; *Hist, Sket.,* vol. III.

7 According to some writers. Laurie says they met at Padua; Newman, at Pavia.

8 We refer particularly to the celebrated Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose achievements have been rightly said to constitute an era in the history of the English Church. For an account of his zeal in behalf of schools and letters, *vide Conversion of the Teutonic Race,* Hope, c. xi.; Newman, *loc. cit.,* 451; *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church,* c. 11.

9 The Episcopal or Cathedral schools which had almost, if not entirely disappeared during the dreadful period of the barbaric invasions, had been gradually re-established whenever or wherever an altered condition of affairs allowed. Under the Merovingians, according to Ozanam, at least twenty could be enumerated in France alone. Charlemagne gave a new impulse to their revival and multiplication. It was in the Assembly of Aix-la-Chapelle and in the year 789 that bishops received their first command to open, in connection with their cathedrals, schools that were both public and free. Alluding to their general character at this time, West says: "The Episcopal or Cathedral schools were neither so strict nor so flourishing as the monastic schools whose exterior side they resembled, educating candidates for the priesthood and children of laymen generally. . . . Apart from the rigorous discipline of monastic life exacted from the *oblati,* there is, however, no essential distinction to be drawn between the instruction furnished in the monasteries and Cathedrals."—*Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools,* p. 57.

Appendix.

10 'Adeo funditus concidit," he writes, "apud gentem Anglicanam (learning) ut paucissimi fuerint cis Humbrum, qui vel preces suas communes in sermone Anglico intelligere potuerunt vel scriptum aliquod a Latino in Anglicum transferre: tam sane pauci fuerunt, ut ne unum quidem recordari possim ex australi parte Thamesis, tum cum ego regnare coeperam." Pastoral of Gregory, *Introduction*.

11 "The connection of the University of Paris with the Palatine Schools of Charles the Great," says Rashdall, "rests only upon a series of arbitrary assumptions. The theory which traces the origin of Oxford to Alfred the Great aspires to a foundation in contemporary evidence. The Oxford myth was long accepted on the authority of a passage in the annals of Asser, Bishop of St. David's. The passage is found neither in any extant MS. nor in the earliest printed editions, but made its first appearance in Camden's *Britannia* in 1600 A.D.; whence three years afterwards it was transferred to the edition of Asser. The spuriousness of the passage, which is indeed sufficiently betrayed by its affected classicality of style, was demonstrated as long as 1843 in a dissertation appendix to the English translation of Huber's *English Universities*. The myth recently received its *coup de grace* at the hands of Mr. James Parker (*The Early History of Oxford*, Oxf. Hist. Soc., 1885). . . . When the supposed authority of Asser is put out of court, the Alfredian legend even in its simplest and least elaborate form cannot be traced further back than the *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden, who died in 1363. In fact the whole story with the vast cycle of legend of which it is the nucleus . . . may now be abandoned to students of comparative mythology and of the pathology of the human mind."—*The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, by Hastings Rashdall, vol. ii., part ii., p. 322, Oxford Clarendon Press.

12 "En incipit," says Baronius, "annus Redemptoris nongentesimus, tertia indictione notatus, quo et novum inchoatur sæculum, quod sui asperitate ac boni sterilitate ferreum, malique exundantis deformitate plumbeum, atque inopia scriptorum appellari consuevit obscurum."—*Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. x.

Bellarmine says of it, "nullum sæculo decimo indoctius."—*De Controversiis. de R. Pontif.* lib. iv., c. 12.

Appendix.

13 Hence to avoid repetition we can afford to be brief in its description. Possibly nothing contributed more generally to the realization of educational results than the hearty co operation of episcopacy of which one historian writes: "In no age perhaps, did Germany possess more learned and virtuous churchmen of the episcopal order than in the latter half of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century."—Introduction to the *Literature of Europe*, Hallam, vol. i., p. 28.

14 As the eleventh century opened in the darkness of the tenth, so its choice ushered in the dawn of an epoch ever memorable as a transition period in the history of Christian education. The forces which effected the tremendous change had been silently and imperceptibly at work for years, maybe for centuries, meanwhile held in abeyance by the deplorable social and moral condition of the times. With the advent of new and more favorable circumstances, however, they were free to declare themselves and did so with permanent and universal effect. Nowhere was their influence felt more lastingly than in the schools. both monastic and cathedral, which from this point on—from Anselm to Peter the Lombard—are scarcely recognizable as identical with their former selves. An altogether new spirit had taken possession of them. Their resources were being multiplied daily, while the whole trend of their steady development was in the direction of the universities into which they were to be eventually merged. Of their relation, *in transitu*, to the universities, and of the universities themselves—their organization and constitution—we hope to speak somewhat in detail later. For a summary account of the transition to which we allude, the reader is referred to *St. Thomas of Aquin*, Vaughan, pp. 76-77; *Rise and Constitution of Universities*, Laurie Lect. vi., pp. 96 *e seq*. For an elaborate treatment of the entire subject. vid. *History of the Universities of the Middle Ages before* 1400, Denifle; *The Universities of the Middle Ages*, Rashdall; *Idea of a University* and *Rise and Progress of Universities*, Newman (*Historical Sketches*, vol. iii).

15 For an enumeration of various councils convened by the Church in behalf of popular education, especially during the ninth century, *cf. The Bible in the Middle Ages*. Buckingham.

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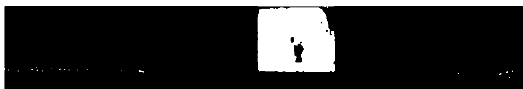

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